International Journal of All Research Education and Scientific Methods (IJARESM),
ISSN: 2455-6211, Volume 13, Issue 5, May-2025, Available online at: www.ijaresm.com

A Comprehensive Look on Rape Law Reform: A Demand of Society towards Justice

Sharmin Jahan Runa

Assistant Professor & Head of the Department of Law,Sonargaon University

----------**********----------

ABSTRACT

A United Nations study on male violence reveals alarming impunity for perpetrators of rape in Bangladesh. According to the survey, 95% of urban respondents and 88% of rural respondents who admitted to committing rape reported facing no legal consequences. This staggering level of unaccountability is further reinforced by data from the Government of Bangladesh's One Stop Crisis Centre. Between 2001 and 2013, out of 16,804 rape survivors who sought medical treatment, only 3,747—approximately 22%—pursued legal action. This means a vast majority, even after taking the courageous step of seeking medical help, refrained from engaging with the legal system. Such statistics underscore the grim reality that most survivors of rape do not come forward to seek justice. For those who do attempt to file cases, they often face severe threats, intimidation, and even death threats—especially when the accused holds power or influence. In many instances, both victims and witnesses find themselves without meaningful access to emergency shelters, legal protection, or social support systems. As a result, countless survivors are denied justice, contributing to a prevailing culture of impunity.Even when cases are formally registered, followed by investigation and trial, convictions remain exceedingly rare. This systemic failure discourages survivors and erodes public trust in the justice system. The obstacles are deeply rooted not only in procedural inefficiencies but also in discriminatory practices embedded in existing rape laws and their application.In light of this context, the purpose of this paper is to critically examine the substantive and procedural deficiencies within current rape legislation and identify urgent areas in need of reform. The article emphasizes the necessity of delivering justice to survivors and outlines actionable recommendations aimed at making the legal framework more responsive and equitable. Achieving meaningful rape law reform requires the coordinated efforts of government institutions and active engagement from civil society organizations. In today's socio-legal climate, reforming rape laws is imperative to provide holistic, effective, and inclusive justice for survivors. Such reform must aim to dismantle the culture of impunity and establish a comprehensive legal framework grounded in human rights and survivor-centric policy approaches.

Keywords: Rape, Rape victims, Gender-based violence, Victim protection, Access to justice.

INTRODUCTION

Rape remains one of the most underreported and least prosecuted crimes in Bangladesh, reflecting a deep-seated failure of both legal and social systems to protect survivors and hold perpetrators accountable. Despite the severity and lifelong consequences of such violence, legal redress remains out of reach for the majority of survivors. A United Nations study on male violence found that an overwhelming 95% of urban and 88% of rural respondents in Bangladesh who admitted to committing rape reported facing no legal repercussions. This staggering level of impunity is echoed in data from the Government of Bangladesh's One Stop Crisis Centre, which reveals that between 2001 and 2013, only 22% of the 16,804 rape survivors who sought medical assistance chose to initiate legal proceedings.

Such statistics highlight not only the widespread nature of sexual violence but also the systemic barriers that discourage victims from pursuing justice. Survivors who do seek legal redress often face threats, harassment, and social ostracism, particularly when the accused wields political or social influence. In many cases, victims and witnesses lack access to emergency shelter, legal aid, and protective services, leaving them vulnerable and isolated. The consequence is a persistent culture of impunity and a justice system that often fails those it is meant to protect.

This paper argues that the current legal framework governing rape in Bangladesh is structurally inadequate, both substantively and procedurally. Discriminatory laws, ineffective enforcement mechanisms, and a lack of victim-centered

approaches have contributed to a justice vacuum. Therefore, comprehensive rape law reform is urgently needed—not only to ensure accountability but also to restore public trust in the rule of law.

This study seeks to critically examine the areas within the existing rape laws that demand immediate reform. It aims to propose actionable recommendations for creating a more effective, inclusive, and survivor-centered legal system. Such reform, driven by collaborative efforts from government bodies and civil society, is essential for ending impunity and delivering justice to those who have long been denied it.

This is particularly challenging as it tacitly allows child marriage leaving no legal redress of rape for a potential child victim. This is not only contradictory to Bangladesh's international commitment to protect young girls from sexual exploitation, particularly its obligations to ensure the best interest of the child under the UN Child Rights Convention (CRC), 1989, but it also contradicts the existing domestic law of the country. Although, the recently enacted Child Marriage Restraint Act, 2017 criminalises marriage of a girl below the age of 18-years, The Penal Code,1 860 giving immunity to a perpetrator of rape if he can prove that the victim is his "wife" of 13 years of age is clearly an expression of the legal validation of child marriage. This encourages the culture of forced marriage of a child rape victim with the offender, which is again a violation of Bangladesh's obligations under various international treaties as well as its own constitutional guarantees.

In the present context, another important area is rape by fraudulent enactment of marriage or by deceitful promise to marry in the existing legal provisions and a lack of sufficient descriptions. In several occasions, the Supreme Court had to adjudge whether sexual intercourse with a woman who believed that she was married to the offender because of some false staging of marriage, or that he intended to marry her based on a false promise, amounted to a rape or not. In this situation, the Penal Code does not specifically address this condition, a careful reading of section 9 of the Nari-o-Shishu Nirjatan Daman Ain says that a fraudulent promise to marry to induce consent in sexual intercourse, can very well be criminalised as rape.Section 9 clearly states that a man would be said to commit rape when he "fraudulently" obtains consent. As such, legally, a false staging of marriage, or promise of marriage in order to induce consent to sexual intercourse, will certainly defined as rape given in section 9 under the special law. However, in such cases courts take into account that "absence of force" during the time of the sexual intercourse, the initial "fraudulent" means or intention which induced such consent takes a backseat in the judicial consideration. In most such cases, the woman victim is left to bear the social reprimands and a bad character for engaging in a premarital sex by the offender, along with the responsibility of an unborn "illegitimate" child.

Men can and do rape women and children, the Penal Code, 1860 only covers the two forms of rape. Men can and do rape other men, hijras and their wives, these three forms are not defined as rape in the Penal Code. The discriminatory definition of rape was introduced by the colonisers and consciously retained for the past 160 years without any reformation. Such gaps in the definition of rape impede the rape victims right to get an effective justice. It is an unfortunate matter that the criminal justice system in Bangladesh still defines as the colonial language without any change. But the present context in Bangladesh is in such a situation that a formulated and reformed rape law is necessary which can more efficiently handle the plight of rape victims to get justice.

Background of Rape Law Reform in Bangladesh

The key criminal laws of Bangladesh—including substantive laws such as the Penal Code, 1860 and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, along with the procedural law, the Evidence Act, 1872—were all enacted during the colonial period, prior to the adoption of the Constitution of Bangladesh. As such, there is a pressing need to revisit and reform these laws to align them with constitutional principles of equality, justice, and non-discrimination.

Notably, since the colonial era, the definition of rape in the substantive law has remained largely unchanged and continues to be inadequate and non-exhaustive. In an attempt to address the growing concern over violence against women, the Cruelty to Women (Deterrent Punishment) Ordinance was enacted in 1983. This special legislation introduced the death penalty as the maximum punishment for rape, replacing the earlier provision of life imprisonment under the Penal Code, 1860.

Subsequently, the Nari-O-Shishu Nirjaton Domon (Bishesh Bidhan) Ain, 1995 [Suppression of Violence Against Women and Children (Special Provisions) Act, 1995] was introduced, which made the death penalty mandatory in rape cases that resulted in the victim's death. This law also established special tribunals for cases involving violence against women and children, incorporating fast-track procedures and specific victim protection measures.

A significant development occurred in the sensational rape and murder case of Sukur Ali in Manikganj, where the High Court Division of the Supreme Court of Bangladesh stayed the execution of the death sentence, thereby adding a new dimension to the discourse on rape law and capital punishment.

Despite the introduction of harsher penalties and procedural reforms through special laws, the definition of rape itself remains outdated and unaddressed. Comprehensive reform of both substantive and procedural laws is necessary to ensure that they reflect contemporary understandings of gender justice and human rights.

Role of Civil Society in Ensuring Justice for Rape Survivors

There is an urgent need to reform rape laws in Bangladesh, as many of the existing provisions are outdated and rooted in colonial-era legislation dating back to 1855. These laws no longer reflect the realities or the constitutional principles of gender equality and justice. In a modern society, especially in a country like Bangladesh, legal definitions and protections must evolve to address the needs of all citizens—particularly women, who make up more than half of the population and are disproportionately affected by sexual violence.

Civil society has a vital role to play in this process. Advocacy by civil society organizations is crucial for pushing legal reforms, raising public awareness, and demanding accountability. One of the key areas in need of reform is the definition of rape, which remains narrow and exclusionary. A broader, more inclusive definition is necessary to provide meaningful legal protection and ensure justice for survivors.

Furthermore, in Bangladesh, a significant number of women experience sexual violence within marriage. Civil society must continue to challenge the legal silence around marital rape and advocate for its criminalization. Whether rape occurs in the public or private sphere, it must be recognized as a violation of human rights. Ultimately, sustained pressure and activism from civil society are essential for transforming laws, protecting survivors, and advancing gender justice in Bangladesh.

Role of Courts in Ensuring Justice for Rape and The Need for Strong and Independent Investigations into Rape Incidents

Investigation of rape cases lies upon the police officer in charge, but an independent investigation team should be formed under each Sessions judge to investigate the rape incidents and the investigating officer should be held accountable where a case is dismissed due to lack of proper investigation to avoid false or inaccurate reports and to ensure the investigation process is not influenced by the perpetrator in any way.

The reluctant of the police to file cases is the most vital reason for delay in investigation and trial of the rape cases. The police officer may blame the victim or be influenced by the perpetrator and refuse to file case. In these situations, when victim files a complaint case and the same, reluctant, the police officer is appointed as investigating officer and the investigation process becomes lengthy and weak. It is high time to make a change in the provisions of law to hold the inquiry by judiciary. So many barriers and obstructions are there to access justice for rape survivors. The victim and the family members of the rape victim are not willing to reach in the court. The settlement based on statement made by the complainants in favor of the offender or the family members decide to marry the rape victim to the rapist to avoid social stigma. Another vital issue is falsification of medical reports and lack of preservation of evidence which makes the rape case very weak. It is the immense responsibility of the court to access each piece of the evidence as medical reports, investigation reports and the survivor's statement take into account to ensure the justice in a proper manner.

Recent Rape Cases in Bangladesh

A 70-year-old woman was reportedly raped when she went outside for prayer ablutions or Wudu, in Purbo Shilmondi village of Sadar upazila, Munshiganj.[1] The men reportedly tied her mouth from behind and took her inside her room since the women lives in her own and then raped her.

A teacher of a madrasa has allegedly been raping his student for 15 days after sedating him in Narayanganj.[2] Whenever the boy would regain some consciousness and pled to go home, he was met with death threats. Finally

[1]< https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/nation/2020/10/03/70-year-old-woman-raped-in-munshiganj> accessed 5 October 2020.
[2] <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/nation/2020/10/05/madrasa-teacher-rapes-boy-for-15-days-in-narayanganj > accessed 5 October 2020.

the boy was able to escape the Madrasa and told his family. Local allege that this man has done the same to many other students before but that he was able to cover it up every other time.

In this case, people are uncomfortable in recognizing that males can also rape other males. It is uncomfortable in admitting that such a cruel and inhuman kind of abuse is happening in the very schools and at the very hands of the people entrusted to teach the religion which people hold dear to hearts. The religious figures and institutions should be accountable for not only violating the laws of the land but also violating the very essence of the religion they claim to preach.

Rape at MC College Sylhet is a known case in present time. On the night of September 25, multiple perpetrators including the trio ambushed a young couple in front of the MC College main gate and gang-raped the woman inside her car after confining her husband inside the college hostel.[3] Following the incident, the men wanted to wash the car and destroy all evidence of rape but were unable to do so as they had to flee the scene immediately when police and some locals came barging in.

October 07, 2020, Police have arrested 4 juvenile gang members held for gang-raping two girls at Ashulia in Savar on the outskirts of Dhaka. All the arrested person are below the age of 18, reports our correspondent quoting Md Kamruzzaman, officer-in-charge (OC) of Ashulia police station.[4]

A seven-year-old girl was allegedly raped by a teenage boy in Jashore's Chaugachha upazila yesterday. The child, a student of grade two, was admitted to Chaugachha Upazila Health Complex, reports our Benapole correspondent. The fifteen year old boy remains absconding since he raped the girl at a jute field around 5:00pm yesterday, the victim's family said.The mother of the victim filed a case with Chaugachha Police Station last night, said Rifat Khan Rajib, officer-in-charge of the police station. Police are trying to arrest the alleged rapist, the OC said.[5]

Four men have been accused of breaking into the room of a feminist NGO worker (by cutting through the tin shed roof), and gang raping her late at night in Bagerhat. One of the men is a truck driver the others are construction workers and farmers. The woman lives away from her husband and family due to her job, and rents a room for herself in a house where one of her male colleagues also is a tenant also. The four men then reportedly charged her of engaging in ‘immoral activities’ with her male colleague, and pointed a dagger to her throat and demanded one lac taka.

Later they barged into the male colleague’s room, beat him up and then forced the woman into compromising positions with her colleague so it could be recorded for blackmail. They then took her back to her room and raped her turn by turn. Then they robbed 16thousand taka form her purse and gold ornaments also. One of them has been arrested while the other three are on the run. The 25 year old victim was sent to Sadar Hospital for medical tests.

Approximately 114 women were raped in 2024 in the first three months, reported by Ain O Salish Kendra (ASK). Three of those victims were killed on spot and one committed suicide after rape, said by the human rights organisation . moreover 14 cases of minor boys also raped were which is reported during this period.

According to the report of ASK, 137 women were victims of domestic violence. From them 65 were killed while 49 women committed suicide. In addition, 79 people of which 55 women and 24 men, they faced violence associated with incidents of sexual harassment.

An eight-year-old child who was raped in Bangladesh died of her injuries on Thursday, setting off fierce protests around the country. The girl was raped while visiting her elder sister's house in the city of Magura some time between the night of 5 March and the following morning, according to a case filed by her mother. The elder sister's 18-year-old husband, along with his parents and brother, were arrested and placed on remand.
On Thursday night dated 13th March,2025, after hearing news of the child's death, an angry mob descended on the house where the incident is alleged to have taken place, setting it on fire. The girl died at about 13:00 local time (07:00 GMT) on Thursday after suffering three cardiac arrests, according to a statement by the government's Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) department.

[3]< https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/nation/2020/10/03/mc-college-gang-rape-accused-had-attempted-to-destroy-evidence-of-rape > accessed 6 October 2020.
[4] <https://www.thedailystar.net/gang-rape-in-bangladesh-4-young-gang-members-held-1973985> accessed 6 October 2020
[5]< https://www.thedailystar.net/7-year-old-girl-raped-in-jashore-1957885> accessed 6 October 2020

Pre-trial and Procedural Barriers in Rape Cases

In Bangladesh, still people believes in Shalish and try to solve their problem through this to settle the matter out of court for paltry sums of money are allegedly prevalent the rape case. Social stigma and shame both associated with rape causes the victim's family for quick and discrete resolutions, instead of court case as this is time consuming and result gets negative publicity. If the rape victims takes any legal initiatives then they face violent intimidation from community leaders. Some victims and their family's reports about the police for non-compliance or lack of responsiveness due to connections with powerful parties linked to the accused. In some cases there is a lack of adequate training of relevant personnel for which procedural barriers in rape cases is a very common phenomena. Moreover. The hijra community people suffers hurdles to access justice because of their gender identity. If they report any rape related issues they face insults and harassment by the law enforcement agencies.

Legal Provisions are Vague and Gender Discriminatory

The definition of rape under Section 375 is narrower of the Bangladesh Penal Code, 1860 and discriminatory and severely limits the scope for justice. It only defines children and women but sexual violence against men or transgendered persons are not addressed in the law. A 2013 study, however, found that there were 2,374 male rape victims who reported being raped by other men.[6]

The definition of consent in the context of sexual intercourse is not illustrated in the law. At the same time, Section 155(4) of the Evidence Act 1872 allows a rape complainant's sexual history and sexual behaviour to be raised to prove whether 'she is of a generally immoral character' in the court, often taken as chance for the defense lawyers to victim-shaming in front of courtrooms and deploying archaic and stereotypical notions of consent to deny justice for the victims. While the provision of rape states that 'penetration is sufficient to constitute the sexual intercourse necessary to the offence of rape' but it does not define penetration which in practice results in only penile penetration of the vagina being recognised as rape but other forms of rape such as penetration of the vagina with objects and penile penetration of the mouth is not mentioned in the clause. The provision only mention the possibility of rape if the wife is under the age of 13, but not the forceful intercourse against the will of the wife said as as marital rape. In the international perspectives marital rape is mentioned as the marital right is recognized for the women as in the case of (R v R)[7]. Recent Studies, however, show that spousal violence and forcible sex within marriage are common.[8]

Imposing Compensation for Committing Rape

It's been 54 years since our independence and still there is no visible step by the State to establish a victim's compensation fund. Three ways in which rape victim's right to compensation can be enforced. Firstly, it can be imposed through

Compensation for the Rape Survivors

Rape survivors suffer a huge physical and mental trauma. Compensation for the rape survivors are mandatory. It can be enforced in different ways. Rape survivors can be compensated from the State compensation fund which is applicable in India. When a female is rapped, her life is grossly violated in a way that cannot be expressed in word or by money. But the compensation may act as a form of relief to make a direct accountability of the offender and as a part of justice to the victim. The state guarantees right to life, so a rape survivor has the right to survive in the society. Another way is to adopt statutory provision relating to mandatory compensation by the accused to the victim. When a rapist is under trial, the court may award compensation step by step for the rape survivor. This should be made before the conclusion of the trial procedure as an interim measure towards the victim so that the rape survivor can meet some expenses arising out of the rape consequences. Even the compensation can also be imposed by public law under the Article 102 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Compensation of the rape survivor is mandatory as a part of justice as the victim has to suffer many more negative attitudes from the society which makes the life of the victim more and more harder.

Ordinance to Reform the Rape Law

President Md Abdul Hamid issued an ordinance on the amendment of Nari O Shishu Nirjaton Daman Ain (Women and Children Repression Prevention Act), incorporating the provision of capital punishment for the heinous crime against violence towards women on 13th October, 2020. Legislative and parliamentary affairs division of the law ministry issued a

---

[6] See p. 47 of Fulu, E., Warner, X., Miedema, S., Jewkes, R., Roselli, T. and Lang, J. (2013). Why Do Some Men Use Violence Against Women and How Can We Prevent It? Quantitative Findings from the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific. Bangkok: UNDP, UNFPA, UN Women and UNV. Retrieved from: http://www.partners4prevention.org/sites/default/ files/resources/p4p-report.pdf

[7] The first R is short for Regina, denoting a criminal case brought in the name of the Crown; the second R is an anonymised reference to the defendant; [1991] UKHL 12 is a case citation.

[8] National Institute of Population Research and Training, Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey 2007 (2009), p. 209, where it was found about 60 percent of men reported ever perpetrating physical and/or sexual violence against their wives.

gazette notification saying the ordinance is titled as Nai O Shishu Nirjaton Daman Ain (Amendment) Ordinance, 2020. Summary of key changes made by the ordinance which was passed amending the law on violence against women. It provides as-

1. Reintroduces the death penalty as the maximum punishment for single perpetrator rape.
2. Introduces the death penalty as the maximum punishment for attempt to cause death or hurt after committing rape.
3. Makes dowry violence leading to simple hurt a compoundable offence (meaning it can be settled out of court).
4. Introduces mandatory DNA testing of both the survivor and the accused with or WITHOUT their consent. But it does not introduce a non-discriminatory definition of rape. It does not introduce a survivor and witness protection system. It does not prohibit defence lawyers from raising questions about a survivor's character in court. Moreover, it does not allow judges to have sentencing discretion which is very necessary. Even it does not grant survivors the right to seek compensation for harm. The amendment comes with the death penalty but the problems are still in the same place.

Recommendations to Reform Rape Law

The reform of rape law is very necessary to protect the society. Death penalty is not the ultimate solution. The recommendations are given below:

- Rape survivors need a legal and clear definition of rape which is discrimination free.
- Rape survivors need a witness protection system as it becomes a threat for the witness later on.
- Imposing fine or right to be compensation is the survivors right by the state. It should be included in the law.
- Rape survivors need defence lawyer to stop being able to raise irrelevant and insulting questions about their character and life style.
- Rape victims need the police, lawyers, judges and doctors to be trained to be gender sensitive and responsive.
- Rape survivors need legal and institutional reform which is real and will actually increase justice for rape.
- The existing laws provides death penalty for the offence of rape. But the problem is to introduce this punishment for all kinds of rape. Because all of it are not same nature. The court should give suo moto power to punish the offender as it thinks fit and proper.

- Accountability of investigating officers must be ensured as the whole investigation process lies upon the IO.
- The Penal Code and Nari O Shishu Nirjaton Domon Ain to increase the age of consent to 18, it is necessary to make an amendment or consistency with the other provisions like Children Act, 2013 which defines anyone under the age of 18 as a 'child', and with Child Marriage Restraint Act 2017, which defines girls under the age of 18 and boys under the age of 21 as 'minors'.
- Procedural reforms that the courts should have the power to take cognizance of rape complaints and then to assign the matter to the appropriate one for inquiry of the case.
- Section 60 of the Evidence Act 1872, which deals with oral evidence, to enable individuals with speech impairments to give evidence in court.
- Section 60 of the Evidence Act 1872, should be amended as it deals with oral evidence, to enable individuals with speech impairments to give evidence in court.
- Guidelines are needed for cases involving child complainant or witnesses in rape case to be sent to the juvenile court.
- Ensure that the Tribunal has the power, under section 13 of the Nari O Shishu Nirjaton Domon Ain 2000, to direct the offender to provide maintenance for the child, since receiving maintenance from the state, as specified in this provision, is a lengthy process where a child is born to a rape survivor due to pregnancy resulting from the rape, and the Nari o Shishu Nirjaton Tribunal ascertains the child's paternity,
- Research is necessary to see whether Nari O Shishu Nirjatan Domon Tribunal has ever provided reports to the High Court of the Supreme Court of Bangladesh, under section 31 (a) of the 2000 Act, explaining why it had taken the Tribunal more than 180 days to conclude a rape case, whether such a report has been reviewed, or such circumstances monitored, by the Court, and whether authorities responsible for such delay have ever been held accountable.
- The DNA evidence collection should be more transparent as DNA samples are most vital element in the rape cases. So it should be free of charge to avoid the tampering with the money transaction.
- The rape victims who are already traumatized from the incident of rape, for them women doctor's appointment to conduct medico-legal examinations of rape survivors are necessary.
- To avoid delays in the trial of rape cases ensure the presence of doctors in court as witnesses.

- Psycho social counselling support to the perpetrators and the society is very necessary. So counselling method should be applied towards people to protect women in the society.

CONCLUSION

Rape is often used as a systematic tool of oppression that not only violates women's bodily integrity but also suppresses their identities and fundamental human rights. At every stage of the legal process—from reporting to investigation to trial—patriarchal norms and gender-biased practices continue to dominate, frequently undermining the dignity and credibility of survivors. Even when laws are enacted, they are often framed and interpreted through a gender-biased lens, limiting their effectiveness.To ensure justice and uphold human rights, it is essential to amend existing rape laws to reflect contemporary realities and align with international human rights instruments and standards. A comprehensive review of the legal framework—including the definition of rape, the procedures for investigation, and the conduct of trials—is necessary for a structural overhaul. Such reforms must be grounded in research and informed by lived experiences.In both public and private spheres, promoting gender equality requires addressing not only discriminatory laws but also the social attitudes and practices that perpetuate gender-based violence. Public awareness and education are critical in changing mindsets and preventing rape. Moreover, the justice process must be transparent, survivor-centered, and accountable to ensure the protection and empowerment of women. Only through coordinated legal, institutional, and societal reform can we build a system that genuinely delivers justice for rape survivors.

REFERENCES

[1]. State vs. Sukur Ali, 62 DLR (2006) 533 – A landmark case where the High Court Division of the Supreme Court stayed a rape-related death sentence, raising questions about due process and proportionality.
[2]. Nussbaum, Martha C. Sex and Social Justice. Oxford University Press, 1999.
[3]. MacKinnon, Catharine A. Toward a Feminist Theory of the State. Harvard University Press, 1989.
[4]. Huda, Taslima Yasmin. “Sexual Violence and the Legal Framework of Bangladesh: Review and Recommendations.” Bangladesh Legal Aid and Services Trust (BLAST), 2015.
[5]. UN Women. Progress of the World’s Women: In Pursuit of Justice, 2011.
[6]. Human Rights Watch. “No Place to Hide”: The Impact of the 2020 Rape Cases in Bangladesh, 2021.
[7]. Oxfam International. Ending Violence Against Women in South Asia, 2018.